A

SERMON

PREACHED BEFORE

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

ON THE 5TH OF NOVEMBER 1791.

BY EDWARD TATHAM, D.D.

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Minime nos Platonis Rempublicam quandam ingenio effingimus: ſed quæ facta ſunt paſſim, fiuntque quoties pulchre res agitur, factis tuemur; ne forte quis fruſtra objiciat, fieri non poſſe.

HOFFMANNUS.

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PS. LXXII. 6, 7.

O pray for the peace of Jeruſalem. They ſhall proſper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and plenteouſneſs within thy palaces: For my brethren and companions ſake I will wiſh thee proſperity. Yea becauſe of the houſe of the Lord our God, I will ſeek to do thee good.

THE grand privilege by which men are diſtinguiſhed above other parts of the creation, is, that they are taken into a nearer relation with the Governour of the univerſe, by being conſtituted *moral agents*.

The ſcience of *Morality* is, therefore, the moſt extenſive and important of all ſciences. It affects every ſtation, relation, and condition, of human life; and the end which it propoſes, is every kind of happineſs that can be enjoyed by man.

For the ſtudy of this extenſive and important ſcience philoſophers have divided it into ſeveral

branches, according to the different circumſtances and relations in which men are placed, and the different kinds of happineſs it has in view.—As it affects men conſidered in Themſelves without reſpect of others and with regard to the purity of their conduct according to the dictates of reaſon and conſcience, the firſt branch of moral ſcience has obtained the name of *Ethics* in an appropriated ſenſe—As it regards them in their relation to their Parents and family connections, a ſecond branch is called *Economics*—As it reſpects them in their relation to the Civil Society in which they live, and to the Government on which they depend, a third branch of morality is *Politics*—And, as it concerns them in the higher relation in which they ſtand to God, the moral governour of the world, it iſſues in *Religion*.

Theſe are the different branches of the great *Moral Law*, which, though they are to be ſtudied and cultivated with a juſt diſtinction, have an intimate and inviolable connection among themſelves; as they ſpring from one and the ſame root—the Will of God; and as they have their reſpective duties dependent upon that Will.

He who hath made all men ſubject to himſelf as their moral governour, and enforced that ſubjection by a number of religious duties; the ſame God hath made them ſubject to their parents, and ſecured that ſubjection by correſpondent duties. And the ſame God who requires purity and virtue in himſelf as an individual, hath appointed every man

man his exact place and order in ſociety, and bound him by a chain of correſpondent duties to ſubjection of civil government. "The powers "that be are ordained of him," which he has commanded men, by a ſtrict injunction, "not "to reſiſt," but "to be ſubject to them for con-"ſcience ſake:" and whatever changes are made in civil polities, or by whatever means, it is "He "that pulleth down one and ſetteth up another."

However different, theſe relations are all *moral*, and the duties unchangeable, of eternal and indiſpenſable obligation, independent on human will, and enforced by ſanctions which are divine.

With the conditions of Religion the will of man has no concern; and, when he enters on the ſtage of life, as it confers its benefits upon him without his conſent, its duties are incumbent upon him without his conſent, and its ſanctions will be enforced without his conſent. From his natural Parents he receives the principles of life and innumerable obligations without his knowledge or the operation of his will; and innumerable are the duties towards them, incumbent upon him through life, totally independent upon his own conſent. Without his aſſiſtance or conſent, whatever may be the ſtation to which he is born, he enjoys the benefit and protection of the State in which his parents live; and, with equal reaſon, he is rendered ſubject to its government and obedient to its laws, without his own conſent. Though the parents of ſome men are poorer, weaker, and inferior

ferior to thoſe of others, whilſt the relation remains the ſame, that circumſtance does not change the duty: and, though ſome governments be inferior to others, whilſt the relation is the ſame, the obligation will be the ſame. From all theſe different relations the duty which reſults is *moral:* and over moral duties the will of man has no more power, than over the eſtabliſhed laws of nature. They are derived alike from the will of God, which no power can change. It is the province of men, as moral agents, to obey or to diſobey the moral law in all its parts, which is thus unchangeable in its nature, according to the freedom of their will; and to wait for the correſpondent reward or puniſhment.

In ſupport of this general doctrine, they who have ſtudied human nature from hiſtory and experience are philoſophically agreed, that men are *ſocial*, as well as rational, and religious, beings; that they are framed with paſſions and propenſities which bind them to each other by an inſtinctive power independent of the more ſlow, more precarious, and more fallible power of reaſon; that they are not merely impelled to each other by neceſſity, but joined in ſocial union by a native, uniform, and inceſſant principle, which is the foundation of ſociety and civil government. This ſocial union, being rooted in their nature, they determine to be indiſpenſable to their exiſtence, and to their happineſs, the end of their exiſtence: and they are eaſily convinced that civil government is the only means by which the end can be attained.

attained. They conſequently conclude, that this government is both natural and neceſſary to men as ſocial beings.

So ſimple and ſo rational is the general doctrine of Civil Polity, as it is eſtabliſhed by philoſophers.*

Sciolifts, who pretend to be metaphyſicians, may imagine what they will about *Natural Rights* and *National Compacts* as the origin of ſociety and civil government. Society is coexiſtent with human nature; and Government is coeval with Society. The one is as neceſſary as the other; and both have their exiſtence in the will of God and in the nature of man.

Stricken with the abſurdity of the doctrine of *Natural Rights* and *National Compacts*, in which every individual is ſuppoſed to accord his actual conſent, as the baſis and ſupport of all civil government, ſome of our abler politicians have had recourſe to a *tacit, virtual, and implied conſent*; and this they extend to every ſpecies of religious and moral obligation. To this doctrine, which is plauſible enough, and ſupported by men of good intention, I have no other objection, than that I deem it unneceſſary, unphiloſophical, and fictitious; though it be a fiction, which, perhaps, may do no harm: For all morality reſulting from the will of God, its duties of whatever kind are *implicitly* to be obſerved, without ſtipulation or condition. And, if Politics be a branch of moral law, ſubmiſſion to civil authority is a neceſſary, unqualified, unſtipulated duty, forming the moſt

* Ariſtotle, Cicero, and other politicians of antiquity.

important

important part of moral virtue; * "inaſmuch as "it is civil government which ordains and marks "out the various relations between men, and re-"gulates propriety, thereby giving ſcope and lay-"ing a foundation for the exerciſe of all moral "duties." †

Theſe obſervations I have been tempted to make upon *Civil Polity* in general, as an important branch of the Moral Law, and upon the great duty of unqualified *Subjection* to the civil powers which are ordained of God: in oppoſition to a train of ſpeculative opinions which have been induſtriouſly propagated of late years, and which have been ſet in ſuch advantageous points of view, that they are regarded as undoubted truths; but which, in their conſequences, are as pernicious to ſociety, as they are repugnant to right reaſon.

What is true of Civil Polity *in general*, will prove true, by the moſt eſſential rule of logic, of *every ſpecies* of it.

Though Society and Government be natural and neceſſary to men; all Societies and Governments are not the ſame, but of very different kinds. And though many of the civil polities in the world may have been modelled into their particular and diſtinctive ſhape by the voluntary act

* Κυριωτατη καὶ μαλιστα αρχιτεκτονικη η πολιτικη. Ariſtot. De Moribus, Lib. i. Cap. 1.

† Biſhop Berkeley on the Meaſure of Submiſſion to Civil Government.

of

of ſome of their members, and their particular form of government may have been adjuſted by the mutual conſent of their conſtituents, as they have been more frequently ſettled by the power of the ſword, all which are equally inſtruments in the hand of the moral governour of the world; yet theſe circumſtances do not affect the general doctrine: for both the act and the conſent have a direct reference to the political duties abovementioned eſtabliſhed by his will in the unchangeable nature of things; from which they receive their whole ſanction and confirmation; and by which their authority, however apparently human, becomes divine, extending its obligation through future ages.

By theſe different models of Government, however they may have been formed, we ſee the political, as well as the natural, world full of that variety which diſtinguiſhes and adorns all the works of God. In the vegetable kingdom we behold the cedar, the poplar, and the oak, all ſpringing from the ſame mother earth, and though given for the uſe and ſervice of men, all different from each other in form and beauty. In the political world we obſerve different kinds of government and conſtitution ſpringing out of ſociety in ſubordination as their common parent. Theſe, for the accommodation of their ſcience, politicians have arranged into general claſſes, (though there never exiſted two in the world in all reſpects the ſame;) every one of which, being part of the moral ſyſtem and

neceſſary to men, is entitled to ſubmiſſion and obedience, and is to be eſteemed a public bleſſing. And, as the happineſs and accommodation of the human race, in running over this temporary ſtage of its exiſtence, are the end of which all political government is the means, that ſpecies is to be eſteemed the divineſt and moſt extenſive of earthly bleſſings, by which this end is moſt effectually obtained.

On applying this general topic or remark to that particular form of government under which it hath pleaſed an indulgent Providence to place the inhabitants of this country, we have reaſon to congratulate ourſelves and our fellow-citizens on the means of public and private happineſs which we ſo freely and ſo plentifully enjoy. Whether we examine its conſtruction with a philoſophic eye, and weigh its ſeveral parts in the ſcale of political judgment; whether we compare it with other polities which exiſted in former times, or are now exiſting, in the world; or, whether, with a ſenſible and grateful heart, we contemplate the many advantages which flow from it, through every channel of ſocial life, to every denomination and claſs of men, we have juſt reaſon to be proud of our Conſtitution. But, though as Britons we may be juſtly proud, it becomes us as citizens to be prudent. Our hiſtory prompts us, in almoſt every page, to fear and caution. It inſtructs us, whilſt we indulge in a manly and ſober admiration of our civil polity, that it is a machine of a moſt nice and delicate

delicate conſtruction, and that we are always to be upon the watch to keep every ſpring in its proper action and every wheel in order, and to guard it from the danger of hurtful changes. Loyalty is that moral virtue, more exalted and extenſive in its influence than other virtues, which is its only guardian and protector: and it becomes us, at all times, and in all ranks of men, to practiſe and to inculcate Loyalty.

This day has been ſet apart by the prudence of our anceſtors for a ſolemn viſitation and review of our political machine: not for the purpoſe of making changes and innovations, but for the exerciſe of this fear and caution, leſt changes and innovations ſhould be made. And a fitter day could not have been ſelected, than that which brings to our recollection two memorable epochs of our hiſtory; in one of which the conſtitution, which had been growing for many ages, received that improvement and renovation, to which we attribute its preſent excellence; and, in the other, eſcaped an overthrow by which its exiſtence had been endangered, if not deſtroyed.

If civil government be a gift of God of the moſt extenſive beneficence to men, theſe, if any other, are proper occaſions of public thankſgiving: and, however ſome, who, by a ſingle ſpecies of malevolence, hate what they enjoy in common with ourſelves, our conſtitution in church and ſtate, affect to condemn the practice of introducing political ſubjects in places of divine worſhip; we will

neither judge our underſtanding to be diſgraced or our zeal miſemployed, whilſt, in his holy temples, we jointly commemorate the public mercies of the Moſt High; whilſt we preſent on the altars of his praiſe the incenſe of our gratitude; whilſt we ſend up the free-will-offerings of our hearts and lips to the Majeſty of heaven by whom kings reign and princes decree juſtice upon earth.

But as we know it to be our duty as chriſtians, at length we feel it our diſpoſition as citizens, to forgive the injury intended, on one of theſe occaſions, but not executed: and, at length, we can forget the cauſe, now the danger is removed. At length we have proved, that political caution is not incompatible with political liberality. When men have proved themſelves loyal at heart and peaceable in conduct, the Britiſh nation has the generoſity to open her arms, and to receive them to her boſom.

With one vow of gratitude, therefore, to Him who is our great deliverer from all public evil, and the author and protector of all our public good, let us turn our attention from the retroſpect of the evil which was prevented, to the more pleaſing view of our glorious Revolution, and to the enlivening proſpect of the public advantages which are flowing from it: in the ſanguine wiſh, that that Revolution may never be perverted, and that theſe advantages may never ceaſe to flow through all future generations.

To

To treat the Revolution with that amplitude of diſquiſition, which a ſubject of ſuch hiſtorical magnitude and political importance would require; to trace our Conſtitution, from the earlieſt and darkeſt ages, through all the changes and progreſſions, through all the declentions and improvements which it made, down to this important era, when, by a ſolemn legiſlative act of government, as great in deſign and magnanimous in execution as it was indiſpenſable to the ſalvation of the ſtate, it was reſtored to a degree of excellence ſuperior to what it had ever known before, and that excellence rendered as permanent as any thing that is earthly can be made, is that important taſk which is more than commenſurate to my hiſtorical and political abilities, and more than proportioned to this occaſion. I propoſe, therefore, after theſe previous obſervations, with that impartial temper which becomes every lover of truth, only to enquire into WHAT IS PROPERLY MEANT BY THE BRITISH REVOLUTION, to take a conciſe view of THE POLITICAL ADVANTAGES reſulting from it, and to advert to the DANGERS, to which the Conſtitution, which it improved and eſtabliſhed, may be expoſed.

I. REVOLUTION, in a political ſenſe, is a word which has very different ſignifications, and means things of very different kinds. Generally underſtood, a Revolution is a change: but, as there

are various kinds of change, there may be various kinds of Revolution. The conſtitution of a body politic has been frequently and appoſitely compared by politicians, to that of the human frame. The analogy is illuſtrative, and holds good in more reſpects than one. As the conſtitution of every individual man is, in ſome reſpects, different from that of every other; ſo the conſtitution of every polity is different, from that of all other polities.* But that part of the analogy to which I am now calling your attention is this. As he paſſes through the ſeveral ſtages of his natural life, each individual man is known to undergo a number of different ſucceſſive changes: but, when he is arreſted by the hand of death, he undergoes a change of quite a different kind, compared with which all the preceding hardly deſerve the name of change. Similar to theſe are the Revolutions or changes in ſtates and kingdoms. Every body politic labours, in its earlier ages, through a ſeries of change, ſometimes more and ſometimes leſs healthy and vigorous; till, after ſtruggling with

* Ut in corporibus noſtris, variæ inter ſe attemperatæ particulæ certas membrorum formas diverſaſque efficiunt conſtitutiones atque figuras corporum, quorum alia ſunt ad ſanitatem diuturnitatemque, alia ad morbos brevitatemque vitæ diſpoſita: eundem in modum corpora Rempublicarum, pro perſonarum, gentis, ſoli, morum temporumque mixtura diverſo attemperata modo, diverſas formas faciemque induunt, unde variis nominibus appellentur.

Hoffmannus De Formis Reipub. lib. iv. cap. 1.

what

what is called fate and fortune, it arrive at a political ſtrength and maturity, the perfection of which depends on the native ſtamina of its conſtitution; or till it meet its political death. And ſuch, excepting the laſt great change, which Heaven avert, has been preciſely the caſe with the Britiſh polity. We trace the ſeeds of it in the earlieſt times, long before that boaſted epoch called the Conqueſt, and the inſtitution of the feudal ſyſtem. However dark the ſcene of its infancy may be, we are able to mark the early ſtages of its growth from one period to another. At one time, though ſmall in its dimenſions, we behold it flouriſhing as a plant in a friendly ſoil, and in a genial ſky. At another, we ſee it drooping under the ſeverity of an inclement ſeaſon, as a tree blighted in the ſpring. Again we ſee it raiſing its head with redoubled vigor, enlarging its dimenſions and extending its branches on every ſide; and, in more auſpicious times, bold and rapid in its growth. At length we have the mortification to behold this fair and flouriſhing plant, which, for ſtrength and dignity can only be compared to the Britiſh oak, upon the point of having all its honours blaſted by the peſtilential breath of a bigotted and ſuperſtitious religion, and its native liberty and rectitude diſtorted into tyranny and oppreſſion: and it was by that act of deliverance, which neceſſity alone could dictate, and Britiſh fortitude alone could execute, that we behold it reſtored to more than its former glory, and that glory extended to future ages.

Each

Each of theſe changes was a political revolution; but the laſt was the great and glorious *Revolution* to be commemorated through all poſterity.

But, whilſt we are commemorating this great event, let us clearly underſtand it; leſt we be led, by miſtake or artifice, to promote a ſpirit in the nation by which its ſalutary effects may eventually be deſtroyed. Our Revolution of 1688 was a ſpecies of change, which is more properly a *Reſtitution* and *Improvement*, than a Revolution, in the modern and popular acceptation of that word, which ſignifies the death of the old, and the birth of a new, government, or of ſomething new. By our Revolution not one true principle of antient polity was altered, nor one ingredient in the compound of the old conſtitution changed. They were all renovated and reſtored to their proper operation, and veſted with their native power. By our Revolution, the monarchy was limited, as it had formerly been, and the ſtate mixed and compounded of three ancient eſſential parts. By our Revolution, the civil legiſlative power was veſted in the union of theſe parts, as it formerly had been; and their ſeparate functions in government were adjuſted and confined to their proper exerciſe. By our Revolution the powers of theſe parts, both combined and ſeparate, were defined with accuracy, and preciſely aſcertained, balanced againſt each other in that exact and perfect equipoiſe, on which the health of the body politic depends, and fixed on a more diſtinct and permanent foundation. By

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our Revolution the law reſults from the joint deliberative wiſdom of theſe ſeparate conſtitutional eſtates guarded from error by the negative of each, and that law is made ſupreme: and, by our Revolution, the liberty of Britiſh ſubjects exiſts in obedience to the law, in the ſpirit of loyalty, and flouriſhes, under its protection, in the happineſs of the people. And, finally, by our Revolution, the ſucceſſion to the crown, that bone of fatal and perpetual contention, was legally and finally decided: and our Sovereign and his ſucceſſors, *ſo long* as they adhere to the laws and conſtitution of the nation, beſide their part in the legiſlative government, will be the hereditary executors of the law, and the protectors of the liberty of all their ſubjects.

Such was the Revolution we this day commemorate; ſo magnanimous in its conduct, and ſo truly conſtitutional in itſelf: for, though neceſſity dictated a change of *perſons*, its object was to prevent a change of the old conſtitution in *things*; and things in politics are more important and eſſential than perſons. And, while we commemorate the event, we ſhould not be unmindful of the cauſe which brought it forth; which was no other than the *Reformed Religion of the State*, as it was lawfully eſtabliſhed.

They, who aſſert that Religion has no concern or connection with civil polity, are pretenders to ſcience. They are ignorant of the nature and

extent of the Moral Law, and of the influence which one part has upon another. They are ignorant of the nature and hiſtory of man, of his diſpoſition and his heart. And they who pretend to celebrate the Revolution, without having reſpect to its cauſe, the national reformed Religion of the country, either miſunderſtand or pervert that Revolution. Who that has read the hiſtory of Great Britain, that genuine ſchool of politics, but muſt ſee the diſorder under which the Conſtitution laboured, and from which it was then delivered, originating in a religious cauſe? Who but muſt ſee that cauſe rankling in the breaſts of a powerful and ambitious party emulous of the empty and pageant honours of the grand monarchy of France, and operating to the ſubverſion of the liberty of the Conſtitution and the happineſs of England? And who, that has the true love of his country glowing in his breaſt, but rejoices that, at a moſt critical and dangerous emergency, the hand of neceſſity was ſtretched out with vigor and effect to exterminate that cauſe?

And, as Revolution was founded on the eſtabliſhed religion, its firſt object was to ſecure it to the ſtate, and to guard both from future danger, by making it the one *national* and *uniform* Religion:* by making the unequivocal profeſſion of

* Illud conſtat apud omnes: quod una Reſpublica non poſſit, abſque ſumma rerum confuſione atque diſcrimine uno eodemque tempore ferre duas pluresve ſimul dominantes profeſſiones perſuaſionum diſcrepantes. Provocamus ad triſtem experientiam

it the condition by which the King is to poſſeſs the throne: and alſo, as the King is the ſupreme magiſtrate of ſtate, by requiring the ſame profeſſion as the indiſpenſable qualification of all magiſtrates of all denominations acting in commiſſion under him. And ſome are of opinion that one defect and omiſſion of the acts of Revolution is, that the ſame condition was not extended to the members of the other two eſtates of legiſlation.

So that, by the Revolution of 1688, without the CHURCH of England we have no King; and, without a KING, we have no CONSTITUTION.

Thus the fabric of our government is not the produce of a heated imagination, it is not the caſtle-in-the-air of a viſionary projector; nor the illuſion of a metaphyſical dream. It is the old Britiſh caſtle founded on a rock, and defended by the ocean, which had been building and enlarging through a courſe of ages, which had withſtood many ſieges and blockades, which had been in

experientiam Belgarum, Anglorumque, quos partim Gomari Arminiique, partim Puritanorum Eccleſiaſticorumque quos vocant, quædam æqualitas ita commiſerat, ut inteſtinis odiis civilique bello pene attererentur. Provocamus ad illorum propria exempla, qui conſcientiæ libertatem venditant. Cromvellus, poſtquam ſub ejus auſpiciis illi, qui conſcientiæ præ cæteris libertatem extollebant, obtinuiſſent, id egit omni ſtudio, ut una profeſſio, oppreſſa quantum fieri poterat contraria, ſola dominaretur. Neque nos hoc partium ſtudio ſcribimus; ſed quod non aliter ferat natura rerum humanarum.

Hoffmannus lib. i. cap. 9.

part diſmantled, and again embattled, and which, on the point of being demoliſhed, was reſtored to more than its former ſtrength and beauty, and fortified by out-works of circumvallation drawn round almoſt every part. This ancient caſtle, ſo reſtored and fortified, the glory and boaſt of Engliſhmen, the ſecurity of their lives, the pledge of their fortunes, the palladium of their liberty, and the charter-houſe of their privileges, is no ſimple ſuperficial building, planned in a day by a modern engineer, or to be underſtood in all its parts and proportions, in its ſymmetries and dependencies, in its correſpondencies and connections, in its ſignories and ſubordinations, by a common man. Of this auguſt, this complex, this venerable pile, Providence herſelf was the maſter-builder. Under her auſpice and ſuperintendence it was planned by the wiſdom of the ableſt heads, and conducted under the agency of the profoundeſt underſtandings. By ſuch inſtruments as theſe; ſagacious in contrivance, prudent in counſel, experienced in deſign, and judicious from compariſon, not by opiniative ſpeculators, Providence reared from age to age the ſtately edifice, to ſtand as an example, that the greateſt of her works are works of time.

To comprehend and to contemplate ſuch magnificent and extenſive works, in which are reconciled all the virtues and the vices, the intereſts and affections, the miſery and the happineſs, of a various and complex body of men, to collate them with each other in an exact and comprehenſive view, and

and to deduce their comparative excellence, is one of the deepeſt and moſt philoſophical employments of a cultivated underſtanding. This is a ſtudy too ſublime and too profound for common minds. It demands a moſt accurate knowledge of human nature in every ſtation of ſocial life. It requires a juſt eſtimation and minute determination of all moral relations and dependencies. It ſolicits the exerciſe of deep inveſtigation and extenſive obſervation; and it is only to be crowned with adequate ſucceſs by a profound ſtudy of thoſe philoſophers, who have laboured, in different ages, in the ſame ſublime and extenſive field. It is a work of moral intention, not to be compaſſed by the depths of mathematics, or to be conquered by the ſubtleties of ſynthetic ſcience; but requires all the labour of minute attention and particular inveſtigation. A genius for ſuch a taſk is not the produce of every age or country. For ſuch a taſk the mind ſhould be formed in a gigantic mould, and the conſtitution for Herculean labour. The eye ſhould be clear and penetrating, able to take into one view all the countries of the globe; and the underſtanding to multiply the vaſt expanſe by all the ages of the world. They ſhould meaſure and compare every form of civil polity, from the rudeneſs of barbariſm to the refinement of cultivation.*

* Ariſtotle conſidered politics as a ſcience ſo much more difficult than the other parts of morality, that he pronounces a *young man* not qualified for the ſtudy of it. Της πολιτικης ουκ εστιν οικειος ακροατης ο νεος. De Moribus, lib. i. cap. 1.

Such

Such are the qualifications requiſite to form an adequate judgment of a political fabric ſo complex and elaborate as the Britiſh State: and it ſhould confer a heart-felt gratification on the minds of all its ſubjects, that the few philoſophers who have been ſo qualified, have either anticipated its ſuperior excellence in idea,* or pronounced it, from obſervation, to be the higheſt model of perfection.† To all who are deep ſtudents, profound thinkers, and juſt reaſoners, it will always appear as ſuch: and fortunately there is one rule or criterion of judgment as eaſy in its application as infallible in its uſe, which will not only confirm the deductions of the few who are thus learned, but, what is of more account, will enforce the conviction of the many who are leſs informed. This rule is derived from our experience of its effects in the political ADVANTAGES reſulting from it, which we ſhall next conſider.

II. "Ye ſhall know them by their fruits" is an axiom of the Moral Law, univerſal in its application, and divine in its original. From our Conſtitution in Church and State, ſo reſtored, improved, and ſettled, we behold that civil and religious *Liberty*, which is the envy and admiration

* Statuo eſſe optime conſtitutam rempublicam, quæ ex tribus generibus illis, *regali*, *optimo*, et *populari* confuſa modice.
Cicero Fragm. De Reipub. lib. ii.

† Monteſquieu.

of

of the world, diſpenſing public and private happineſs through every order and claſs of men.*

Subordination of rank, inequality of property, and diverſity of profeſſion, are indiſpenſable to the very exiſtence of every ſtate, and to the adminiſtration of every government: But, however elevated by their rank, ſuperior by their riches, or diſtinguiſhed by their profeſſion ſome men may be above others; in things moſt eſſentially important to the pure comfort and real enjoyment of ſocial life, Engliſhmen are or may be equal. All the neceſſaries of life, the firſt ingredient of public happineſs, are diſtributed through this land of plenty with a liberal hand; the advantages of ſociety are abundantly enjoyed; and contentment, the object and repoſe of all men, is more equally dealt, than may ſuperficially appear. And, however haughty and overbearing men of ſuperior rank and riches might be, (but of this we have not much ground of juſt complaint,) in this land of liberty they have little power to gratify their pride or their malevolence, the higheſt as well as the loweſt being amenable to the law, which is the guardian and protector of all alike.

Whilſt from other countries we hear the various report of ſlavery and chains, we feel at home, with the pride of Engliſhmen, that no man can be ſo much as the maſter of another without the conſent of both accorded in a fair but temporary bargain; and this only to a certain degree, and ſubject to legal regulations. For his labour and attention

* See the Author's 2d Letter to Mr. Burke.

the

the ſervant has an adequate compenſation, fed at his maſter's table, cloathed with his wages, inſtructed by his counſel, exhilarated by his converſation, and endeared by his love. However poor and mean by birth an Engliſhman may be, in this country of agriculture, trade, and manufacture, if he be poſſeſſed of induſtry and virtue, he may die rich. Where is the country that can produce ſo many examples of men riſing from abject poverty to a ſtate of opulence, as this affords in every age? And, when enriched by their induſtry, their honeſty, and economy, in the liberal and generous eſtimation of their countrymen, their former poverty redounds to their honour and not to their diſgrace. And, though it be thus in the power of every one by an honeſt and virtuous endeavour to gain a comfortable ſubſiſtence, though all may not riſe to opulence; they, whoſe poverty is the conſequence of their indolence, improvidence, or vice, are fed and cloathed by the rich and provident: and, by the diſcipline of the national Church, they, as well as others, have the Goſpel preached unto them.

In the midſt of theſe domeſtic ſcenes of peace and plenty, we hear of war with all its terrors ravaging or threatening other countries, waſting towns, depopulating cities, and ſpreading diſmay through ſtates and provinces. This happy iſland, which was formerly the ſcene of blood, ſince its conſtitution was ſettled and completed, has ſcarcely had the foot of an armed enemy upon its ſoil: and

and whilſt that Conſtitution remains inviolate, and we are unanimous among ourſelves, it may put at defiance all external danger.

With war in other countries we have had too much concern. It has however ſerved to convince the world of the inexhauſtible valour and opulence of Great Britain. After the enormous expences of blood and treaſure waſted in more than a ten years war againſt all the powers and confederations of America and Europe, ſuch are the vigor and enterprize of its inhabitants under the auſpice of ſuch a government and the œconomy of an honeſt and able miniſtry, that, by our fleets at home, we have commanded peace among the firſt potentates of Europe, and, by our armies abroad, we are chaſtiſing the inſolence of tyranny in the moſt diſtant quarter of the globe.*

So perfect is the happineſs, ſo brilliant are the glories of the Britiſh nation: all which ADVAN-

* Ad gloriam autem atque exiſtimationem cui omnino ſervire princeps debet, non vanitas, et oſtentatio quædam animi, non privata, ſed hominum, ſed optimorum, ſed vicinorum, promota commoda pertinent. Si interventa ſuo pacem orbi conciliaverit; ſi vicinorum bella ſopiverit; ſi reges exules vel reduxerit, vel petentibus dederit; ſi inique, oppreſſis opem tulerit; ſi externorum inteſtinos motus compoſuerit; ſi avitam libertatem vindicaverit; ſi juſto æquilibrio omnes circa gentes continuerit; ſi pacis mediatorem egerit; ſi diſſidentium principum cauſas arbiter audiverit; ſi fidem Chriſtianam propagaverit; ſi virtutis ſtudia et artes undique excitaverit; ſi tyrannos compeſcuerit; denique, ſi juvando atque opem ferendo alios non oppreſſerit. Hoffm. Obſerv. Polit. p. 384.

TAGES, we owe to the political government which it enjoys. "Pray we," then "for the peace of "our Jeruſalem," ſo happily conſtituted. "They "ſhall proſper that love thee. Peace be within "thy walls and plenteouſneſs within thy palaces: "For my brethren and companions' ſake I will "wiſh thee proſperity: Yea, becauſe of the houſe "of the Lord our God, I will ſeek to do thee "good."

III. Bleſt with all the advantages of ſuch a Conſtitution, to this fervent prayer we ſhould add a ſtrenuous endeavour to preſerve and to defend it from all kind of DANGER.

'That truth and virtue conſiſt in a mean equi-'diſtant from the extremes' is another axiom, which is coextenſive with all moral ſcience. In politics, this axiom has been conſpicuouſly verified by the Britiſh government, which is a mixture formed out of the different ſpecies of civil polity, qualifying and correcting the extremes of each. It is a balance of power: and, before the Revolution, the equilibrium had too often been deſtroyed by the prevalence of one party or another, to the great diſtreſs and grievance of the nation. To prevent the recurrence of this dangerous evil, eventually ſubverſive of the conſtitution, was a main object of Revolution, which ſettled the medium between the two extremes upon a juſt and permanent foundation. The rights of prerogative

on

on the one hand, and thoſe of privilege on the other, were well defined; the national church, formed on an apoſtolical model, was made congenial to ſuch a ſettlement, whilſt a full toleration was afterwards allowed to all perſuaſions in religion:* ſo that civil and religious liberty united in one virtue to crown the happineſs of the nation.

Excepting two ſmall ſtorms, which loured upon the horizon of this country from the weak attempts of one of theſe parties to reſtore a miſtaken and deluded family to the crown it had conſtitutionally loſt, government, as ſettled at the Revolution, has gone on flouriſhing, and, we hope, to flouriſh.

The oppoſite party is more powerful in its nummers, more ſanguine in its hopes, and more inveterate in its determination. Though, under the moſt liberal and lenient government, theſe men are grown rich, and might be happy, they retain a ſpark of their ancient animoſity rankling in their breaſt, and ready to break out into a flame on all

* Illud eſt in confeſſo: Chriſtianam Religionem charitatis magiſtram ſuadere ut tolerentur fratres errantes; permittere, ut quiſquis in quibuſdam rerum circumſtantiis ſuo abundet ſenſu: nolle, ut aliquis ob ſuam opinionem privatam publicam tranquilitatem perturbet.

Tandem illud eſt certiſſimum, ſub libertatis conſcientiæ tolerantæque benignitate, ni diligenter advertas, impietates plurimas, imprimiſque Atheiſmum et Deiſmum generari, quam peſtem ni in ipſo principio extinxeris, hydram aluiſti a quo monſtro certiſſima reipublicæ tuæ pernicies cladeſque imminet.

Ibid. p. 32.

occaſions. They know well, that, in the beſt of governments, events muſt repeatedly occur, which the breath of faction can foment: and that breath they reſerve for ſuch occurrences and events. Whilſt they are adminiſtered by men, miſtakes in governments will ariſe, which no prudence can foreſee; and misfortunes will befall, which no power can prevent. With theſe, exaggerated and miſrepreſented, they envenom and inflame the public mind, obſtinately reſolved to let no opportunity eſcape to ſubvert the preſent conſtitution in church and ſtate.

Though they affect great knowledge, their artifice is the only quality which equals their animoſity. The Revolution we this day commemorate, (it is indeed ſtrange to tell, but no more ſtrange than true) they have erected into a ſtanding battery, from which they attempt to deſtroy the fruits of that very Revolution. That to which we owe the completion and final ſettlement of our conſtitution, they are labouring to convert into a precedent; in order to introduce another revolution, by which that conſtitution is to be deſtroyed. Thus they would attempt to annihilate the effect by an artful and prepoſterous application of the cauſe; and, in the midſt of their democratic phrenzy, we behold them threatening to erect a ſumptuous column to the memory of the Revolution in Runny-Mead. Let them erect an hundred if they pleaſe: They will ſtand as ſo many monuments of their ignorance, or of their fraud.

The

The Revolution, they pretend to celebrate, ſprung from motives which they deteſt, was founded in principles which they abhor, and was executed by the magnanimity of patriots at whoſe loyalty they ſpurn. Are they ignorant that the authors of the Revolution, which they affect to call ſo glorious, were, indeed, great and good men, who, inſtead of wiſhing to innovate and change, were moſt ſacredly attached to the ancient conſtitution of the country both in church and ſtate? And can they be ignorant of their own hearts inveterately bent on the ruin of the eccleſiaſtical, and on the change of the civil, eſtabliſhment—on the downfal of the Church, the extinction of the Nobility, and the degradation of the King?

It is the word *Revolution*, which they miſapply, and which is too generally miſtaken, that furniſhes a pretext for their fraud. Engliſhmen, be not deceived. Our Revolution was a change of perſons, but not a change of things. Let them erect their columns in every county and pariſh of the nation: ye will look upon them in their juſt and proper light, if ye regard them as the ſtandards of a faction plotting under their ſhadow the deſtruction of the effects, whilſt they artfully pretend to commemorate the cauſe. We could tell them, (for they may not know) that a ſimilar deceitful game has been played before. Whilſt Alexander was enſlaving Greece, he cauſed to be re-erected at Athens the ſtatue of Ariſtogiton.

An event has offered itſelf in a neighbouring kingdom more congenial to their wiſhes; and which they can turn to the promotion of their views without a fraud. This is indeed a Revolution in its ſtrongeſt ſenſe, if that ſenſe imply a total change: in all reſpects the reverſe of that of England. The Revolution of France is an opportunity too valuable to paſs unimproved; which they have, therefore, encouraged and fomented by every means. By a moſt impertinent and obtruſive conduct, they opened a correſpondence with that country, and formed clubs and anniverſaries in order to celebrate and emblazon its proceedings, and to hold up its political conduct as an example for the imitation of England. How long, we may exclaim, is that country to be the pander of Great Britain! At one time we have beheld its king betraying the conſtitution, in his ambition to emulate the pageantry and power of the monarch of France: at another we behold a popular faction leading us, after its example, from monarchial freedom to democratical tyranny.

Without experience for their foundation, or learning for their guide, without principles of judgment, and without reaſoning at all,* the leaders of this faction uſurp the claim to ſuperior knowledge, and are the ſchool-maſters in politics to inſtruct the riſing age. They command almoſt every channel of information, and have the direction of almoſt every periodical publication. By theſe

* See the Author's Firſt Letter to Mr. Burke.

means

means they labour to deprive us of the political learning of antiquity, and of the collected wiſdom and experience of men; whilſt they are calling the attention of the people to their own preſumptive and indigeſted ſchemes. That wiſdom and experience in which our Conſtitution is founded they wiſh to remove out of ſight, whilſt they erect a new polity in its room, on their own ignorance and vanity.* The ſame ſtale arts which had been employed by their predeceſſors, they are again impoſing on the ſimplicity of the riſing generation; and the ſame abſurdities which have often been refuted, they are practiſing again. Thus they vilify that inheritance which our anceſtors acquired by their labour, which they completed by their

* Tantum inter ſuperficiariam literarum ubertatem ſolidæ virtutis, doctrinæ, atque pietatis faſtidium, ut qui Atheiſmo, Deiſmo, fraudibus, ſimultate, malitia, inhumanitate, luxu atque perjuriis creſcere atque augeri reſpublicas poſſe putet, fœcunda ſpei ſecula habet.

At ſi hos morbos ſenectus imperiorum aluit, morſque illos et ruina ſecutæ ſunt, quid multis immineat per Europam, non equidem difficile fuerit aſſequi, ubi literarum iutemperantia, ſolidæ virtutis ignoratione, vitiorum animi venia, corporis ſtrictura, magnorum ingeniorum invidia, leviſſimorum admiratione laboramus. Ibid. p. 347, 348.

France has realized this political conjecture: And, if *an avowed contempt of piety*, and a *violent affectation of learning without the reality*, be ſymptoms of national decay, our diſſenting faction in England have them very ſtrong. Their leader may ſay with the Latin poet—

Religionum animos vinclis exſolvere pergo:

and all the reſt are, indeed, *ſuperficiaria literarum ubertas*.

wiſdom,

wiſdom, which they left us as the ſacred depoſit of their love, and as the ſtanding object of our veneration.

Whatever means they may employ, or wherever they may begin, their efforts are to be oppoſed by all good men. The public mind, they know, however honeſt, is fickle and ſubject to impoſition, the dupe of folly and the ſlave of faſhion: and, if by an act of parliament in their favour or any other means, their cauſe was once made popular, it might operate as leaven on the public mind. If, inſtead of being checked and ſmothered throughout the nation, the ſame wild-fire that in a few weeks ſpread from the banks of the Seine to the foot of the Alps and Pyrenees and was ſtopped on this ſide only by the German ocean, which they have been labouring to kindle here, had got a head in this iſland, no human conjecture can divine what the event would be. More miſchief might have enſued than they intended; for in politics they are no prophets: and when the ſhip has loſt her anchor, and is put out to a ſtormy ſea without a rudder, no foreſight can diſcern how ſhe may be wrecked, or whither ſhe may be driven.

Theſe artifices have already warped the judgment of too many who profeſs themſelves to be members of the Church of England; and their authors are the moſt dangerous to the preſent happy conſtitution of this country: becauſe they are enemies whom we nouriſh in our boſom; becauſe

cauſe they are our fellow-citizens, whom our generoſity is unwilling to ſuſpect; and becauſe they are our neigbours, whom our charity is too tender to judge. We are, however, admoniſhed by the ſad experience of a neighbouring kingdom, that public ſecurity is not to be ſacrificed to an exceſs of liberality, nor public happineſs to a miſguided charity. Should their artifices ulcerate and inflame the public mind; ſhould the affections of the people be alienated from their lawful government; ſhould they be led to hate and contemn thoſe, whom they ought to love and honour; "Then," according to the obſervation of one, whoſe knowledge is founded on experience, "then "will be felt the full effect of encouraging doc- "trines which tend to make citizens deſpiſe their "conſtitution. Then will be felt the plenitude "of the miſchief of teaching the people to be- "lieve, that all ancient inſtitutions are reſults of "ignorance; and that all preſcriptive government "is, in its nature, uſurpation. Then will be felt, "in all its energy, the danger of encouraging a "ſpirit of litigation in perſons of that immature "and imperfect ſtate of knowledge, which ſerves "to render them ſuſceptible of doubts but inca- "pable of their ſolution. Then will be felt, in "all its aggravation, the pernicious conſequence "of deſtroying all docility in the minds of thoſe, "who are not formed for finding their own way "in the labyrinths of political theory, and are "made to reject the clue and to diſdain the guide.

" Then will be felt, and too late will be acknow-
" ledged, the ruin which follows the disjoining of
" religion from the ſtate; the ſeparation of mo-
" rality from policy; and the giving conſcience
" no concern and no active or coercive force in
" the moſt material of all ſocial ties, the principle
" of our obligation to government."*

The oppoſite party of which I have ſpoken are perſons of an oppoſite deſcription. The cauſe for which their anceſtors contended no longer exiſting, they are, I believe, well affected to the preſent ſtate of things. Cultivated in underſtanding, and enlarged in religious ſentiment, the Engliſh Catholics demean themſelves as peaceable and loyal ſubjects: and the repeal of thoſe penal ſtatutes, which, though obſolete, were in exiſtence, does high honour to the legiſlation of the preſent age.

We have another Society in the nation, who, however they may differ from the eſtabliſhed church, have ſhewn themſelves on all occaſions the loyaleſt of ſubjects. They are, as they profeſs, the friends of peace; and they have always been the friends of the Revolution rightly underſtood. As we have ever experienced the loyalty of this reputable ſociety, it is with pleaſure that we find them, at this time, too wiſe to be drawn into the preſent ignorant heterogenous faction.

* An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs, p. 108.

To this Society, as well as to the Catholics of this kingdom, we can appeal for the excellence of our preſent conſtitution; and whether it can be improved by a Revolution like that of France. Whatever effects that Revolution may there produce, is with us a matter of no direct concern. Of our own Revolution we daily experience the good effects. This is of a contrary nature, and would produce with us contrary effects. Indirectly indeed we may avail ourſelves of the extraordinary example; not with a view to imitate, but to ſhun. In this view, it is a monitor to Engliſhmen of all deſcriptions. It admoniſhes the King and all his royal progeny, that, in the love and loyalty of his ſubjects, he ſits ſecurely upon his throne; and prompts them to cultivate that love and loyalty: And it forewarns them that, when the church begins to ſhake, that throne, by a ſympathetic impulſe, will begin to totter. By an event unparalelled in hiſtory, it admoniſhes the Nobility to ſupport the church as well as the throne, as their ſpecial duty; leſt, however partial the ruin may be, they themſelves ſhould be annihilated in the fall. By the extinction of a race of nobles moſt ancient and illuſtrious, it may correct that pride of birth and inſolence of diſtinction, by which ſome part of this order is diſgraced. It may teach them the important leſſon, That they are not born for themſelves alone, and that they are no farther honourable, than, whilſt acting in the high ſtation aſſigned them by the conſtitution, they prove

themſelves the friends of their king and country. And it may admoniſh every inferior order and claſs of citizens, To obſerve the laws of their country; to fear God, to honour and obey the King; and to live ſoberly, juſtly, and peaceably, in their occupations and poſſeſſions.

And to you, ye Diſſenters of all denominations, whether ye be Anabaptiſts, Antinomians, Nonconformiſts, or of the Church of England, we can appeal for the excellence of the government under which ye live. Open your hearts, and enlarge your underſtandings. Speak from your own experience, and tell us, whether ye may not be rich and happy if ye will. Are your burdens more grievous than thoſe of your fellow-citizens? Are ye excluded from advantages which they enjoy, provided ye comply with the terms of that Revolution in which ye affect to glory? If, in your conſcience, ye cannot comply with the diſcipline of that government to which ye owe the bleſſings of civil and ſocial life, rather than labour its deſtruction, have the generoſity to leave the country in which it preſides. However uſeful ye may be in ſome reſpects, we will endeavour to do without you, rather than our conſtitution ſhould be in perpetual danger from your attacks. America may be open to receive you; and France, though ſhe begins to diſapprove of clubs and anniverſaries, may not yet have the wiſdom to ſhut her ports againſt you. When the ſafety or honour of the country is concerned, we know it is not to the

Diſſenters

Diſſenters that we are to look to fight our battles. We remember your tyranny when in power, and, though as fellow-citizens we wiſh you all that is good, for your ſake as well as for our own, we will keep you from too much. Our Conſtitution, we know, from experience, to be good, and we believe, from reflection, that it is wiſe: and, ſince it has excluded you from the adminiſtration of its government, we ſpeak plainly, we wiſh you to be excluded.

Of the church, the chief object of your envy, the greater part of you profeſs that ye are not members. With the church, therefore, ye can have no concern; and with its revenues ye never had any thing to do. They were the gifts of royal founders and other pious benefactors, conſecrated to the ſervice of the church; and they are its legal and inheritable poſſeſſions, of as ancient and inviolable a tenure as the beſt property of the land. To alienate theſe poſſeſſions would be ſacrilege in the firſt place, and an infringement of the rights of Engliſhmen in the ſecond: for the diſpoſal of their property to what uſe they will, has ever been the privilege and boaſt of Engliſhmen.

As to the people at large, the revenues of the church are or ought to be employed for their benefit, in the moſt important concern of life: but they are no more in their diſpoſal than your own eſtates, the fruits of your labour and œconomy. All property in England is ſacred and ſecure. Be content with what is your own, and thankful that

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it is ſo ſecured: and reſt ſatisfied, that, however ye may judge them miſapplied, for the revenues of the church, ye are not reſponſible. This reſponſibility, which indeed is great, reſts with a different claſs of men, who expect, one day, to be called to a ſtrict account. May they all acquit themſelves as faithful ſtewards of God's inheritance, and ſincere paſtors of his flock! It were, indeed, to be wiſhed, that theſe revenues could be more equally beſtowed, conſiſtently with the neceſſary orders and diſtinctions of the church. The time of equal retribution will, however, come; and happy, at that day, will be the humble and induſtrious Curate, who has ſpent a virtuous life in feeding his Chriſtian flock with the ſincere milk of the goſpel, upon the ſcanty pittance of forty pounds a year. Ye Biſhops, ye Dignitaries, and ye Rectors, think upon this. Be diligent, by the ſeverity of your ſtudies, or by a redoubled application to the duties of your profeſſion, to ſhew yourſelves ſuperior to your brethren: for ye will be included in the univerſal ſentence—"To whom much is given, of "him will much be required."

On this day, ſet apart for the ſolemn review of our Conſtitution in Church and State, and for a public thankſgiving for its continuance, let every Engliſhman rejoice with a ſober and manly joy. Let him admire, as it deſerves, the inheritance of his forefathers, and ſend up his offering of thanks for the government under which he lives, without fraud

fraud or treachery. Let him cheriſh it with affection, and guard it from all danger. Let him improve it with fear and caution, never departing from its genuine and fundamental principles. Let him view this little iſland, founded on a rock and protected by the arm of the God of earth and of the ſea, and compare it with the continents of the globe: and let him exult in the idea, That BRITAIN will be invincible, whilſt her GOVERNMENT remains. Let him conſider them as married to each other: and in the ſpirit of true patriotiſm, let him ſend up a vow to heaven, that as they are conſtitutionally united, the *one* may be as laſting as the *other*.

'On your rock-rooted throne firmly ſeated, ſublime,
'Below you break harmleſs the billows of time!'

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